2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

105 643 On a man's relationship to his chief depends his residence, his use of land, the economic group he works with, the way in which his food is distributed, the religious and magic beliefs that sustain him in his work, and his social ambitions. Thus without understanding the political organization of the Bemba it is impossible to describe their system of food production.

105 622 643 Briefly, then, this political system consists of a Paramount chief, the Citimukulu, a hereditary ruler with a fixed title, drawn from the royal clan—the *Benaŋandu* or 'Crocodile' people—who traces his descent in the matrilineal line for more than twenty-five holders of the office. The Citimukulu rules over his own district, the centre of the Bemba country—Lubemba—but also acts as overlord to a number of territorial chiefs, who govern districts similar in size, succeed to fixed titles, and are drawn from the same clan, and in fact the same lineage group, as the Paramount himself.[1] Each of these territorial chiefs has one or two sub-chiefs under him, these again being drawn from the royal clan, but in some cases from more distant branches of the family which have become localized in one particular area.[2] Sisters and maternal nieces of the chiefs are reckoned as chieftainesses, *Banamfumu*. They succeed to titles, and rule over villages, while the chief's mother, the Candamukulu, has a small territory of her own, and plays an important part in tribal councils. Beneath the chiefs [624] come the heads of villages (*mwine mushi*, plur. *bene mushi*) appointed by them. A particular feature of this political system is [644] the hierarchy of the 40–50 officials, *Bakabilo*, many of them also of royal descent, who succeed to fixed titles, and perform ritual duties at the court, take charge of the chief's complex mortuary and accession ceremonies, and act as a council for the whole tribe.[3] Besides these hereditary priests and councillors attached to the Paramount's court, though not resident at it, each chief and sub-chief has his own councillors (*bafilolo*), with legal and executive functions, living at his court and appointed by him, and in the

[1] The most important of such territorial chiefs are the Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, and Nkula, and at the moment the first two are own brothers to the Citimukulu, and the last a first cousin.

[2] e.g. Mwaba is a sub-chief of Nkula, but this title has become associated with another branch of the Crocodile clan.

[3] Autocratic chieftainships, associated with hierarchies of hereditary court officials, are found among the contiguous tribes in the Congo, e.g. Luba (Verhulpen, op. cit., pp. 55, 186), Shongo (Torday, *Causeries congolaises*, 1925, p. 55), Kongo (J. H. Weeks, op. cit., p. 37).

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

ghost is very strong. In the case of a dangerous animal like a leopard or a lion special ceremonies are performed to prevent the return of its spirit. In the old days the killing of an ox, I was told, was accompanied by the words, 'Kampinda (a name for the High God) who gave us this beast, now go out of it. Go and settle in that one', pointing to another animal. I never heard this said, but to this day the Nkolemambwe, the hereditary official responsible for killing most of the beasts slaughtered at the Paramount chief's court in connexion with various rites, describes himself as being 'fierce' (*umukali*) on this account, and as doing specially dangerous work for the community requiring subsequent purification. I have heard a native say that it is bad to kill a dog because its spirit could return. 'White men are cruel the way they shoot sick dogs. It is better to tie them up in the bush and walk quickly away and let them die.' Children are sometimes afraid to kill a chicken. One said, 'It is a frightening thing to watch the breath flutter away'.[1] This attitude towards the killing of domestic animals is interesting in an agricultural people in which the ritual attitude towards cattle has not been formalized in different institutions and religious ceremonies as it has among the pastoral Bantu. It amounts to a reluctance to treat goats and sheep merely as stock to be bred and killed, combined in this case with a lack of scientific knowledge of how to do so.

Conclusion.

To summarize the Bemba views on food it must be admitted that they grade their different victuals according to fairly crude criteria, such as their lasting power, and ease of swallowing. Also habits developed in early infancy have made them used to experiencing particular sensations after eating, such as the feeling of fullness after a meal of *ubwali*. Hence other types of dishes have ceased to seem to them to be 'satisfying'. On the other hand, most of their prejudices appear to be extraordinarily sound in the particular environment in which they live. Their preference for millet flour as against cassava meal is an extremely sensible one as the chart of comparative values of finger millet, cassava, and maize given

[1] *Pakuloleshyo muntu apo umweo uleputuka cakutina.* This fear seems to be combined with a definite desire to watch pain inflicted. Most natives consider it the treat of treats to see a sacrificial animal killed, and I have always noticed that children swarm to watch a goat killed and rather enjoy a long-drawn-out death.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

finally, after some weeks' work, brew beer, and invite men to a *kutumya* party so that they may get some necessary granary or house built.

Distribution at the Chief's Court.

The most considerable exchange of food for labour is that which takes place at the capital, whether in payment of tribute workers (*ba mulasa*), courtiers, executive officials, or visiting councillors on tribal business. This whole system of distribution illustrates clearly not only the political and economic ideas of the Bemba but the rules of hospitality already described. Each man or woman who works for the chief[1] should be given food. The men are provided with porridge and relish cooked by the chief's wives, and the women unthreshed millet to prepare for themselves. The workers eat together in one group. The boys and young men who act as personal servants to the chief are also fed separately with cooked food, being mostly unmarried men. Older courtiers, heads of sections of the village (*bafilolo*), or messengers (*bakapasso*) are treated in more honourable fashion. They are sent a share of meat sent in as tribute, or invited to share a pot of beer on the veranda of the chief's hut. At Citimukulu's court, tribal councillors (*bakabilo*), if present in twos or threes, are treated in the same way, but if the whole council is present on matters of state, they will probably stay for a week or ten days, and then they are regularly fed by the chief's wives. In this case the whole council—some forty strong—is divided into groups (*nsaka*) based on descent and historical association.[2] Each of these groups must be provided with a separate basket of porridge and a dish of relish, and sits eating back to back in the chief's enclosure. Honoured visitors, such as members of the royal family, are sent flour, chickens, or beer by the chief and cooked food by his head wife (*umukolo*).

The organization of these supplies is naturally a complicated business. At Citimukulu's court during nine months (April 1933 to January 1934) 561 men and 324 women came to do *umulasa* labour and were fed at least one day of their service. The *bakabilo* to the number of about forty met at least twice during the year, while it is impossible to estimate the number of other persons engaged on a big chief's business. The distribution is of such

[1] Cf. Chapter XIII. About three days a year at the present time.
[2] The *nsaka* of Katongo, of Citikafula, of Cikutwe, and of Citimukulu.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

437 643 644 651 importance politically that it is supervised personally by the *mfumu* himself, who watches meat cut up in front of him and gives the orders for grain to be given out. A special steward is in charge of his big personal granary and hands out baskets of grain each morning to the senior wives in charge of the feeding of the *umulasa* labourers, or the brewing of beer for any special purposes. The wives themselves have their own small personal granaries and cook dishes for the chief which he divides as he pleases,[1] or make presents of beer as they choose. All the three or four senior wives distribute hospitality to honoured guests in their own rights, and the *umukolo*, in particular, is required to be very punctilious in sending dishes of honour to travelling notables.

All the *bamukolo* I met were women of a good deal of organizing ability, capable of supervising the younger wives, arranging for the endless grinding and brewing required in the capital,[2] and the stirring of the huge pots of porridge to be served in enormous eating-baskets about eight times the size of an ordinary *icipe*. Any one who sits in the inside of an *umukolo's* hut during the late afternoon will know at once by the bustle, the concentrated faces, and the ring of waiting food-baskets that important and responsible work is on hand.

The whole of this system of distributing food is of course necessary to the chief if he is to make gardens and conduct tribal business through his councillors. But it is more than this. The giving of food, as in most African tribes, is an absolutely essential attribute of chieftainship, just as it is of authority in the village or household, and the successful organization of supplies at the capital seems to be associated in the Bemba mind with the security and well-being of the whole tribe itself. This fact may be said to be symbolized by the institution of the sacred kitchen (*kamitembo*) at the courts of the big chiefs (Citimukulu, Mwamba, and Nkula). From the outside the *kamitembo* looks like an ordinary hut, although specially well built. It is one of the sacred houses built by the *bakabilo* with special rites at the founding of a chief's new village. In fact it is the first to be built on the site. At Citimukulu's founding ceremony a special hereditary official, the Mwana Bwalya,

344 786

[1] The cooking of the chief's own food is usually done by the *umukolo* herself, or by some old woman specially appointed to the task, since the taboos protecting his fire from sex impurity are very strict.

[2] Chiefs' wives do not have to pile branches in the fields, but do very heavy grinding-work for beer-making and feeding the workers.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

so call it, melt away. Besides this, his prestige will gradually go when he is no longer able to carry out his obligations on the same scale as before. The situation has in fact reached a kind of impasse at the moment. Because the *mfumu* gets less labour, he makes smaller gardens and has less food to feed his workers, so that they in their turn are less willing to serve him another year. From figures I collected during my visit it was clear that in some capitals the labourers were getting no food at all in return for their work. The late Nkula employed a hunter, and had a reputation for giving his people meat. Consequently he always seemed able to get work done for him. Sub-chief Lucembe was a hunter himself and lived in good game country. He was therefore in a fortunate position. But Citimukulu sometimes sent men away without food, or gave them one meal in two days, while the women were supposed to bring their own supplies and cook for themselves. Mukuikile, a sub-chief in the Mpika district, fed the men, but not the women. It is clear from these instances that the modern chief is no longer able to carry out his obligations to his people. Those who grumble at the chief's lack of hospitality have reason on their side, but to refuse to do their service as a protest increases the difficulty.

As a second result, many chiefs now fail to keep their panel of advisers and councillors at court to transact the necessary tribal business. I have seen the Citimukulu hear cases alone with his clerk, and during 1934 the *bakabilo* summoned by him on important matters of business invariably melted away before the end of the meeting because they had not enough food. It took a period of three months of alternately summoning the council and then dismissing it because of shortage, before the work could be carried through.

Chiefs are also beginning perforce to refuse food to the hungry, and even to their poor relations. In January 1934 Citimukulu gave up the distinction between his *umulasa* granary and his personal one, and fed his wife and family on anything he could lay hands on. The right to take food from the royal mounds (*mputa*) already limited to near relatives, was still further curtailed. In July 1933 I heard the guardian of the Paramount's granary walk round the village at night shouting, 'Listen everyone! Hunger has fallen! No one is to dig up cassava from the chief's *mputa*. If he is hungry let him come to the chief and make obeisance and he will be given something.' It is true that this failure of commissariat occurred during a year when the locusts had done their maximum damage and in

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Cultural Setting

622 There was no permanent property to bind a man to one area rather than another and men moved easily to live with one relative or another. The headman's prime difficulty was in fact to persuade relatives to join him or if they had already done so to persuade these kinsmen not to leave him!

The headman could command small gifts in tribute and a little service. He also had a shrine to his own personal ancestors and performed ceremonies for the good of the village. He purified the village by an act of ritual intercourse with his chief wife and his fire was regarded as the fire of the village.

● 644 Princesses had an important part to play in the political system. The mother of the Citimukulu was known as the Candamukulu and she ruled over a small territory in the king's district and was thus in the position of sub-chief to him. The same was true of another royal princess, the Mukukamfumu who also had a sub-chieftainship in her own right. Both these princesses had important ritual functions to perform in tribal ceremonies.

614 173 The Bemba are organized in matrilineal clans distinguished by totemic observances, stereotyped forms of greeting between clan members, joking relationships with paired and opposite clans,[1] and honorific titles. Clan members reckon descent from a common ancestress and her brother, and they tell the legendary tale of the first arrival of these forebears in the country. They remember the villages where their ancestors first settled, although neither the clan nor any of its subdivisions can be regarded as localized groups at the present day. Clans are ranked in some kind of precedence, according to the order in which their ancestors are thought to have arrived in the country from the west.

611 769 Within the clan great emphasis is laid on the principle of matrilineal descent. Ancestors are remembered in prayers before the shrine of a head of a family. Here a man will pray to the spirit of his maternal grandfather or maternal uncle, if the latter is already dead. The spirit of a maternal ancestor is thought to quicken the child in its mother's womb and to protect it all its life. The name of this ancestor or ancestress is discovered by [553] divination, and given to the child. When a man dies his name, his

[1] See my 'Reciprocal clan relationships among the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia', in *Man*, vol. XXXVII, 1937.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

When a man dies his name, his kinship duties and his hereditary bow are passed on to his sister's son or to her grandson through a daughter. The heir actually becomes the dead man in a social sense: he adopts the kinship terms the latter used, calling, for instance, 'maternal nephew' the person he would previously have called 'brother'. The same positional succession takes place in the matrilineal line for women, and a dead woman will be replaced by her sister or a maternal granddaughter. In this system women are honoured as the bearers of many children and such a woman is said to found a house.

In the case of the royal crocodile clan the maintenance of descent is even more important. All senior chieftainships in Lubemba, the country of the Bemba, are held by members of the royal lineage.

A successor to such a chieftainship has access to 'great spirits', those of his dead predecessors, and he not only prays to them at the sacred shrines in his capital, but he acquires supernatural powers in his own person, so that he can bless and curse. His good health and vitality bring blessings to the community, and his ill-health or death, the reverse.

Princesses have the special duty to bear fine children in order to provide the country with chiefs, and they are honoured for doing so. The spirits of royal women are mentioned in prayer in tender and grateful terms as 'those who carried us in skins on their backs and gave us suck'. The first ancestress, Bwalya Cabala, is buried in a grove which is one of the most sacred places in Lubemba.[1]

Bemba clans are not segmentary. The effective kinship group within the clan is a three or four generation group, the men and women who trace their descent to a common great-grandmother and who remember a village of origin (*cifulo*). These are not corporate matrilineages in any territorial sense. The kinship system makes for a great deal of movement from village to village during a man's or a woman's life. The villages themselves change in composition and move from place to place following the shifting cultivation.

There appear to be no fixed leaders of the matrilineage, except in the case of the royal dynasty, but this group is the unit of succession to the offices and the names of dead men and women and to their ancestral spirits.

[1] Cf. *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 357.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Cultural Setting

576 Bemba ideal behaviour is that of the *mwina umusumba* or man living at the court, as distinct from the *mwina impanga* or inhabitant of the bush; the country bumpkin.

577 A commoner is expected to be loyal to the death to his chief,
565 and to accept the fact that his rulers have the right to all his time and all his possessions. He must be silent and respectful. Members of the crocodile clan are expected to be arrogant and even ruthless, but they must be generous in feeding their adherents.

888 Extreme deference is paid to age. Each child knows his exact
561 position of seniority in a group of village children and is given precedence in games. Each group of men sitting in the village shelter does the same. A younger child is scolded for putting itself forward before its elders.

562 Bemba women share many of these ideals. They work for their
622 chief in his gardens and make the same abject obeisance to him. They have a lively interest in the ritual centred in the court. They play an important part in attracting followers and kinsmen to a village. A headman's following or 'crowd' (*bumba*) is attracted by means of beer, good entertainment and company, and these depend both on the successful organization of labour, which is largely a man's job, and on the wise and tactful distribution of food, and happy personal relations, which are mainly in the women's sphere.

562 Women, unlike men, are admired for industry and for resource
842 in finding food in the bush. They are honoured for bearing and
838 rearing many children and for courage in childbirth which is often, under Bemba conditions, a terrible ordeal. They are expected to be loyal to their own sex and to accept the domination of older women.

562 In the sphere of tribal life women have an important part to
644 play, or rather one that is thought to be important. As we saw,
622 two senior princesses have districts of their own; and junior princesses often act as village 'headmen'. In all these cases they wield political authority but are regarded as chiefs with feminine attributes, that is to say, with more gentleness and hospitality to the needy. They are not expected to be ruthless in discipline. They have male counsellors to advise and support them. Besides these real political functions the senior women have important ritual duties since, like their 'brothers', they are in charge of

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

562 ancestral shrines. They are also the potential mothers of future
644 chiefs and provide their brothers' heirs. Senior princesses stride in
622 and out of their brothers' royal enclosures, advise them, hector them and borrow their things. The senior wives of chiefs are also
[789] honoured highly since they hold in their charge the royal fire and they can, by their conduct, destroy or maintain the supernatural powers of the chief. They are thus able at any time to 'spoil the land'.

562 In courts of law women can plead their own cases; this is most unusual in the patrilineal societies to the south. When contracting their first marriage they are under the control of their fathers' and their mothers' brothers, but they are fairly free to contract second
[587 marriages at their own wish. They are certainly able to break a
586] marriage contract with much greater ease than women in patrilineal Bantu societies who pass under the control of their husband's patrilineage on the transfer of cattle at marriage, and divorce is rather frequent in this society. Bemba women have the reputation on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia for being quite unmanageable by men of other tribes. Such men shrug their shoulders, raise their eyes to heaven and say 'These Bemba women! My word! They are fierceness itself'.

Compared to many patrilineal tribes, the Bemba women seem to have a high status. Parents welcome the birth of girls since they bring husbands into their village and build up its strength. Daughters become founders of new lines since the succession passes through them. When they first marry they are under the very definite authority of their relatives, but they are 'at home' whereas their husbands are outsiders from other villages. They have the support of their parents and may form part of a solid phalanx of married sisters, and they are therefore in an extremely strong position. As they become mothers and grandmothers their authority increases. Teknonymy is practised and women are called
[601] by the names of their sons or daughters with the female prefix 'na' On the birth of the first grandchild their name is changed to grandmother of so-and-so—this is a title of respect.[1] The Bemba woman is shy and submissive as a girl, but once a grandmother she

[1] E.g. Na-Kampamba = the mother of Kampamba;
Nakulu-Canda = the grandmother of the Canda.

622 778 protection from pollution of the fire which is supposed to burn day and night in a special hut, at any rate in the Paramount Chief's capital. An elaborate ritual concerns the protection of the sacred relics and the fire, and a number of hereditary officials are engaged in this task.

622 While all chiefs in this group seem to have ritual powers as heads of ancestral cults, and most of them possess and look after sacred relics, it appears that the ritual is far more highly developed among the Bemba. In fact, among some of the scattered groups on the western border of the district, there are cases where the spiritual ownership of the land is in the hands of a descendant of the original owner and the chief himself has diminished supernatural power; but further research on this point is required.

643 The Paramount Chief among the Aushi(1) held both secular and spiritual power in his own hands, a state which was interrupted from 1900-1930 by quarrels over the succession, during which there was both an administrative and a religious head of the group. This is the normal state of affairs among the Unga(2) where the Paramount Chief has never held spiritual or religious power.

Types of Chief

622 643 644 Bemba chiefs succeed to fixed titles associated with the possession of sacred relics. The chieftainships are of different kinds. The major titles are held by members of the royal dynasty and the royal princes succeed to one after the other of these titles in turn. For instance, for half a century or so there was a tendency for the Paramount Chief, the *Citimukulu*, to be succeeded by the *Mwamba*, who was in turn succeeded by the *Nkolemfumu* and the latter by the *Mpepo*.(3) The paramount chieftaincy and the major territorial chiefdoms are held by close relatives within the royal dynasty, usually own brothers, parallel cousins, classificatory brothers, or sisters' sons. Some of the territorial chiefs have under them sub-chiefs whom they appoint themselves and who are either royal princes, or in some cases "sons of chiefs". Several chiefdoms are regularly inherited by sons of chiefs rather than by members of the royal Crocodile clan, and it appears that once a tract of land has been given by a chief to one of his sons it remains as a gift which the succeeding chief can give to his son rather than to his uterine nephew.

644 562 There are also at least two royal princesses, the *Candamukulu* and the *Mukukamfumu*, who succeed to fixed titles in the same way and who rule over a group of villages rather than tracts of land. The position and power of the women of the Crocodile clan is one of the characteristic features of this area.

622 Lastly a few localised lines of chiefs, usually junior or ousted branches of the Crocodile clan, have established their rule over small

(1) Philpot, 1936; but in the Congo the Aushi have two chieftaincies or paramountcies. See Stiénon, 1926, p.59.
(2) Brelsford, 5, 1946.
(3) After a protracted succession dispute the *Nkula* succeeded to the paramount chieftaincy recently; see Brelsford, 3, 1944, and Richards, 7, 1940.

631 The kingdom of Kazembe extended from the Lualaba to the Bemba country and from the Aushi paramount chiefdom of Mweremere to the Tabwa chiefdom of Nsama. The districts at a distance from the capital were governed and defended by resident *bakalama* (watchmen) appointed by and answerable to
636 the Kazembe. Outlying dependencies, *amayanga* (sing. *yanga*), were con-
701 trolled by Kazembe's agents who travelled with their *mabumba* (retinues) to collect the tribute. There was no standing army.(1) In time of general war the governor of the frontier district, Moenempanda,(2) commanded the troops raised by provincial chiefs.

361 The earlier capital, on the eastern side of Lake Mofwe, had to be moved to a new site at the death of a Kazembe.(3) It was surrounded by a
643 deep ditch(4) and enclosed with a wall of reeds. Its gateway was decor-
644 ated with dozens of human skulls.(5) On returning to his country after the Yeke raids had been beaten off, Kazembe moved the capital farther south to Mwansabombwe where it has remained. The Kazembe had a large corps of palace officials, many of whom were his *bacanuma* (fellow-clansmen of his mother), and a bodyguard.(6) Fumo Anceva,(7) the Kazembe's chamberlain, superintended the management of the palace, escorted foreigners and arranged audiences. There were five classes or ranks of Lunda: Kazembe and his family; the descendants of the Lunda chiefs from Musta Yamvo's country; those of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba invested by Nata Yamvo; those of the clan heads who came with the first Lunda expedition; and those descended from the indigenous Shila chiefs and headmen admitted to Lunda-hood. Only sons of a Kazembe by a Lunda woman of the second or third rank were eligible for the position of Kazembe.(8) A reigning Kazembe usually recognised his successor officially.(9) The badge of office, the *lukano* armband, had to be transferred from the arm of the dead Kazembe to that of his successor.(10) A *mutaba*-tree leaf was inserted in his mouth during the enthronement ceremony.

643 Kazembe and his household lived in the *mosumba*, the royal enclosure.(11)
644 His first four wives were given traditional names: Moari, Intemena, Kasaleuca, Fuama.(12) The families (? lineages) of women who had borne a Kazembe formed a nobility. Their members were the *bacalulua*.

624 Village headmen are nowadays administrative and ritual officials. They transmit the decisions of the Native Authority; they act as mediators in disputes, and endeavour to settle them amicably without the parties going to court; they organise work-parties to clear channels and repair village fences; they tend the village medicine (*nshipa*), ritually purify lion-killers, and take ritual measures to end a drought. Formerly they officiated at the sowing and first-fruits ceremonies. They are appointed by the Kazembe from among the members of their predecessor's *cikota*. District
622 chiefs hear cases in the first instance. An appeal from their decisions can be made to Kazembe, who is head of the Native Authority. The chiefs have succeeded the tax-collectors who were established under the British

(1) Valdez, II, p.238.
(2) Gamitto, I, p.246; II, p.18; Burton, p.110.
(3) Livingstone, I, pp.247, 264; Burton, p.139.
(4) Burton, p.43.
(5) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(6) Valdez, II, p.238.
(7) Burton, pp.101, 108.
(8) Gamitto, II, p.17.
(9) Valdez, II, p.232.
(10) Gamitto, II, pp.35-6.
(11) Valdez, II, p.214.
(12) ibid., p.254.

Section 1.—THE PARAMOUNTCY.

000 In order to understand fully the principles involved it will be necessary to give a brief history of succession and also to discuss in some detail the relative positions of the mothers of chiefs. But first, a few introductory remarks will indicate the general and traditional ideas on how the succession works.

611 643 644 Inheritance is matrilineal throughout: the most senior son of the most senior mother becoming Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. The mothers bear traditional names such as Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu, as in the reigning lineage at present. Sometimes Chandamukulu is the elder, and sometimes the other.

At the moment of writing the eldest of three *namfumu* (mothers of chiefs) is called Chandamukulu, the second is Mukukamfumu and a third is Mushimba. Seniority in sons follows that of the mother. The sons of junior sisters have reached to the Paramountcy on several occasions in the past but only when the inheritance has first passed through the sons of senior sisters. The post of Paramount went three times in succession to sons of junior, second sisters, and Nkula D14 of the present day always asserts that this altered the rule, and he states his intention to follow this up with his own claim when Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 dies. But, as I shall show, it is a futile claim and is not supported by traditional rules.

The Paramountcy passes through all the sons of the eldest sister before passing on to the sons of the next sisters. There is also a definite insistence that all the sons of sisters of the same generation must be passed through before the line switches to a younger generation of any branch of the family. The one generation may include half-brothers as well as cousins. Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10 are half-brothers from different fathers.

Thus it was possible in the past and may be possible in the distant future, if this custom is strictly maintained, for sons of junior sisters to become Paramount again.

The above sounds complicated but all it means is that the Bemba genealogical tree as regards succession to the Paramountcy is read horizontally from left to right across the branches of the royal clan. (I shall discuss later whether such reading should stop with the last offspring of any two branches, or go right across to include the offspring of three or more sisters.) Such tables are made out with the members of the same generation all along one line and normally it is easy to see who is in the succession or not. It passes from brother to brother in a genealogical generation and when that horizontal line is exhausted it drops to the oldest nephew of the senior woman in the next generation. Then it moves across that generation.

(*a*) History of Succession.

643 173 The genealogical table begins not with the earliest Bemba history, but at a distinct break in succession that occurred in the early 19th Century. I wish to commence this history at that point. Earlier history, from the

[see pp. 44-50 — Analyst]

CONCLUSIONS.

From this brief history it is possible to pick out several guiding threads. It is obvious that to the Paramountcy the succession is horizontal and direct, but that the system has broken down on several occasions. War has broken the succession definitely once and started a new lineage. An aggressive figure, Chitapankwa B4, turned a foolish Paramount from his stool and disturbed the succession by keeping the post himself instead of allowing the right man, Kapalaula B3, to succeed. The line to the Paramountcy has been rigidly kept since Chitimukulu III but it was nearly broken by Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. No doubt had not a European administration arrived there would have been a constant recurrence of interclan wars.

Another guiding line is that there is no sequence of chiefly names leading to the Paramountcy. Only relationship, place on the genealogical table and seniority count, and a new Paramount may step up from being Mwamba or Nkula or from being a man with no earlier post. There may be a temporary series of names, one following the other, such as is occurring on line D1, D3, D5, D6, D10, at the moment. But, as I show later, the sequence of Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo need not necessarily be a permanent order of names to the Paramountcy.

It should also be pointed out that for the various reasons given the succession to the Mwamba has been irregular. Only the present Mwamba V D3 inherited directly and without complications. But the principle of horizontal succession has appeared on each occasion and there was some historical or personal explanation of why it was not followed. The Mwamba has grown into the next most important post and the succession in the future will follow still more closely that of the Paramount.

(*b*) THE MOTHERS OF CHIEFS (*Namfumu*).

Since the seniority of the chief depends absolutely upon the place of the mother in the genealogical table it is essential to get a clear view of the position of these mothers, or sisters of Paramounts.

Historically, right up until recent years, there have been only two hereditary names of mothers of Paramounts. These names are Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu. There are several other women who have borne Paramounts but their names have not become hereditary. Nor have they themselves inherited one of the two traditional names of the queen mothers for it is not essential for a woman to have a title in order to bear a Paramount. They may have died before it was their turn to inherit. For example in the present lineage Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before she could succeed her sister Chandamukulu Chilufya Mulenga A1. The method of succession too deprives many women of the hereditary titles. For the succession to each name is separate and is from sister to sister, or, if there are no sisters, to the granddaughter. Daughters then, except in special circumstances, such as I shall indicate, would not normally succeed to the traditional name of their mother. Although the sons of these daughters would retain their seniority over the sons of the granddaughter in spite of the fact that the granddaughter held the traditional name of a queen-mother. The rules of succession for the sons are not broken because the inheritance of the mother name usually jumps a generation.

643 644 551 Another point to emphasise in connection with these two traditional names of Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu is that there is no change or advance from one name to the other as with chiefs, for, strictly speaking, all royal houses are equal and it is only possible to state that precedence is by seniority. A Mukukamfumu never becomes a Chandamukulu for the simple reason that one name is as good as the other. The sons of a senior Mukukamfumu are nearer to the Paramountcy than those of a junior Chandamukulu. But whether the sons of this senior Mukukamfumu ever do get the Paramountcy depends merely upon whether the sons of a still more senior *namfumu* outlive hers. We hear of the big house (*ng'anda ikalamba*) and the little house (*ng'anda inono*). The house of Chandamukulu is the big house at the moment because she is the senior daughter of a senior *namfumu*. But deaths could change this in the future and turn the Mukukamfumu's into the big house, for once the name is inherited it is not changed. Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu are but names and the relative seniority of their mothers decides which is senior at any particular moment.

(i) History.

173 551 644 A brief history of the *namfumu* will bring out many points of succession. Little can be gathered about the earlier lineage. The name Chandamukulu is said to be the oldest name and traditionally the name of the mother of the earliest Chitimukulu', but Mukukamfumu does not make its appearance until the beginning of the present lineage. When Chileshye Chepela A2 chased away Chimbola and his family it is noteworthy that the name of Chileshye A2's mother was not changed. Dr. Richards (*op. cit.* (1), page 93) says that the mother of a Paramount succeeds to the fixed name of Chandamukulu. But there is no historical example either in the present lineage or in the old to warrant this statement.

So Mukukamfumu I kept her name when her son became Paramount. The Chandamukulu who was driven away also kept her own name until she died. Then, but not until Chimbola's mother died, did Chileshye A2's elder sister A1 take the name and title of Chandamukulu I in the new lineage. The Chimbola branch of the clan were eventually invited back from beyond the Chambeshi whither they had been driven and given an area on the Weyaya stream. The mother of Chimbolas was given the title of Chanda Weyaya but she must not take this title until she is past child bearing age. She then becomes a *Na babenye* (a mother of the hereditary relics). This arrangement seems to be a very subtle way of preventing Chanda Weyaya from re-claiming the Paramountcy for her sons, because she does not get an hereditary royal title until she cannot produce any more sons. The succession is as with other *namfumu*, from sister to sister then to grand-daughters, but if the heir is still young she does not get the name nor the sacred relics (*babenye*) until she is past child bearing age. The name just "rests" for a period.

644 173 Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before Chandamukulu I A1 so the descent went direct and correctly to Kangwa Chonya C4 who became Chandamukulu II.

The Mukukamfumu was also inherited correctly by the granddaughter of Mukukamfumu I. Kanyanta Bwalya A4 would not inherit Mukukamfumu as, even if she was alive at the time, there was a granddaughter available. So Kasonde B2 became Mukukamfumu II. Then comes an apparent slip but one that is easily explained. Kasonde Mukukamfumu II

1/1 [For identification of the Chitimukulu, see pp. 44-50. - Analyst]

B2 was killed by the Ngoni during a raid. Chimbabantu C5 was also captured by the Ngoni and taken away. So when Kasonde Mukukamfumu B2 was killed she had no sister to inherit, as Nakasafya B5 was also dead, and there were no granddaughters then. So the descent went to Mandechanda C8, a niece (classificatory daughter) and she became Mukukamfumu III. 644 173

Chimbabantu C5 had been captured when she was very young, about 12–14 years of age, by the Ngoni during a raid. She was sold by the Ngoni to a Fungwe native of what is now Isoka district and was married by him. Some years later greetings and messages began to come through from her by way of ivory traders (*Balungwana*). Kafola D11 was told to make enquiries and he discovered where she was so she was finally brought back with her Fungwe husband. He was given ivory and he went away leaving Chimbabantu C5 and her two children by him. The two children are now Nkolemfumu Musenga D6 and Chandamukulu Chabili D7. The former will probably become Paramount and the latter's sons too perhaps. The tribe of the father should not matter in a matrilineal tribe, and in another Bemba lineage there is an example of Ngoni blood in a royal branch of the clan, an occurrence that did not affect succession. After her return home Chimbabantu C5 successively married three Bemba and had two girls and a son, one child by each husband. These three are Kasonde D8, Mubanga D9 and the present Mpepo D10.

In view of recent doubts about her identification raised by Nkula D14, it should be said that it is quite clear that the Chimbabantu C5 who returned was the one who had been taken away. She was too young to have been cicatrised with Bemba markings, but she was old enough to remember her relatives and it was her messages, revealing her knowledge of them, by the traders that first drew their attention to the fact that she was alive. When she returned she had Ngoni face markings and her ear lobes had been slit and enlarged in the Fungwe style. But she proved her identity then; and was accepted as Chimbabantu C5 by all branches of the clan up until the present, so I do not think any questioning can be allowed now.

When Kangwa Chonya C4 died then about 1911 (?) she was normally succeeded by Chimbabantu C5 who became Chandamukulu III. She, C5, died in 1937 but was succeeded by her daughter Chabili D7. This was not a regular succession but Mushimba C11 had died in 1928 and the only granddaughter then was Katongo E2 who was mad, so the only heir was the daughter Chabili D7. She became Chandamukulu IV and is still alive to-day.

Thus the Chandamukulu can show a regular succession, allowing for accidents such as mad granddaughters, right up to the present. But the Mukukamfumu descent has a recent history of complications that I must describe.

The usual home of Mukukamfumu is Kabumba in Lubemba (Kasama district) and it is here that the sacred relics (*babenye*) of this chieftainship are kept. In 1924 when Bwalya Nkula D12 failed in his claim to the Paramountcy, he was so angry that he made his mother Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C8 leave Lubemba and go to live with him in Chinsali. She went about 1925. But the relics were left at the Kabumba and were cared for by Chisofwa, a councillor of the Mukukamfumu. They stayed from 1925 to 1936 and during all this time there was much discussion and argument not only between Chitimukulu and Nkula but among the councillors too. [778]

644 173 Nkula was demanding that the relics go to Chinsali and the Paramount refusing, whilst the elders were saying that it was wrong for the relics to be left for so long without a *namfumu* to care for them. They demanded that some mother of chiefs be sent there, not to inherit the name or take the relics, because there was a Mukukamfumu still alive, but just to look after the relics.

Mushimba C11 was still alive for four years of this dispute and living at the Paramount's village, and as she was the next senior she should have gone. But she did not go. This is an interesting point, for the *Bakabilo* tell me that if she had been sent she would have taken the relics herself and also have usurped the name of Mukukamfumu. She was not sent to do that because the real Mukukamfumu was still alive. The fact that she was not allowed to take the relics and the name tends to prove a point I wish to make later, that only two women, mothers of Paramounts, can hold hereditary titles and have relics.

The discussions dragged on. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 before Mukukamfumu C8 thus she did not inherit one of the traditional names.

When Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C8 died in 1929 the right heir Nkumbula E11 her classificatory granddaughter was nominated (*kusonta*—to point out) by both the Paramount and Nkula C14. There was no dispute about who was the right heir but Nkumbula E11 could not inherit according to custom because Bwalya Nkula C12 would not let her go to Kabumba to the relics. He still wanted them to go to Chinsali. So the deadlock continued until 1936. The relics had been left for 11 years without a *namfumu* so the Paramount sent the next senior woman Chabili D7 to look after them. Chilufya D4 had died earlier in childbirth. Again there was no question of the name but only of care of the relics.

Chabili was only left a few months at Kabumba for Chandamukulu Chimbabantu C5 became seriously ill and since there were no sisters and the only granddaughter at that time was mad, Chabili D7 was the next heir. She inherited the Chandamukulu in 1937.

The question of care of the relics arose again. Nkula D14 had now inherited and he still refused to do anything about it. I was at Chinsali from 1938–1942 and I remember his constant attempts to get Nkumbula E11 recognised, particularly by Government. He did this by trying to get her a stave of office such as Chandamukulu has and a similar salary from the Bemba Treasury. He no doubt thought that once these things were effected the removal of the relics would follow. But he failed, for one reason because the Treasury was poor then and was restricting salary payments as much as possible.

So Nkula D14 saw that he was in a quandary. He had the right heir to the Mukukamfumu but he had neither relics nor status for her. So he began to give ground. But he still would not send the right heir. He sent his sister Nankumbula D13, the mother of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11, in 1936 to Kabumba. He stated that Nkumbula E11 was still too young to send, so her mother would look after the place for her until she grew up. This was a poor story because Nkumbula E11 was then married and had her first child. (In 1943 she had four children, the eldest about 8 years old.) Nkula D14 was still temporising and he went on trying, through Kasama this time, to get a salary and a stave of office for Nankumbula D13. He failed so after about a year of looking after the relics Nankumbula D13 returned to Chinsali in 1937. Again the relics were left without a *namfumu*.

They stayed alone with only the councillor to care for them for about another five years. Nkumbula E11 was so obviously grown up that Nkula D14's first excuse was definitely invalid now and it was clear that he was just carrying on the struggle to get the relics across to Chinsali. 644 173

Then in 1942 the Paramount took a step that forced Nkula D14's hand. He sent Sampa D22 to the Mukukamfumu relics. It is obvious that the patience of the Paramount and his councillors was exhausted for this appointment was not merely one of looking after the relics. They nominated Sampa D22, the sister of Shimumbi D18 and of the branch of the clan the farthest away from the Paramountcy, to be Mukukamfumu in place of Nkumbula E11. The councillors' attitude was that since Nkula refused to send the right heir then they must put in some one else. So Sampa D22 went to Kabumba but before she could inherit Nkula D14 had seen the danger and quickly sent to say he would send Mukukamfumu back.

The point to notice here is that Chitimukulu did not send either of the two younger sisters of Chandamukulu D7. He could have sent Kasonde D8 or Mubanga D9. But the tendency to keep the families apart was strong. He did not want the Mukukamfumu in his family and the line began by Nakasafya B5 was to be kept distinct. There is no doubt that the tendency to keep the Mukukamfumu and the Nkula in a separate branch of the clan is now a most powerful factor in Bemba politics. It is almost tradition now that the senior house gives these other two important posts to the next junior branch. The Councillors say that the possession of two good posts prevents the junior branch from being too jealous.

So Sampa D22 was the next on the list, as Mutale D21 was dead. She went to Kabamba but shortly afterwards in 1943 the right heir Nkumbula E11 arrived and duly inherited as Mukukamfumu IV. Sampa D22 was extremely angry but she had to go. The Nkula house had lost the fight in one respect and hung on to rights in another way. The attempt to gain complete control of the Mukukamfumu in their own district had failed. But by surrendering at the last moment they had prevented a still more junior branch of the clan from taking their important posts. There is little doubt that had the Mushimba C11 branch obtained the Mukukamfumu they would in time have obtained the Nkula too, insisting on the complete split being made. (I tell in the Nkula section how that chieftainship was put into a branch of its own.)

So we have to-day both a Chandamukulu and a Mukukamfumu in their right places. There is one more important point. In 1943 the Paramount and Council appointed Sampa E12 the younger sister of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11 to inherit the name of Mushimba. This is a deliberate attempt to make a third name into an hereditary one. Such a proceeding may lead to complications in future successions. Whether the repercussions will occur or not depends upon what the Council decide about the sons of Mushimba I C11; whether they are to come into the line of succession to the Paramountcy or whether the line is to stop at Bwembia Chikwanda D5. That is the topic of the following subsection.

(ii) The Stop in Horizontal Succession.

One of the most noticable features of this history of the mothers of chiefs is that there have been, until the present day, only the two hereditary names. This seems to be a very significant point. There have been other mothers of Paramounts as can be seen from the table, but the reasons they 644 551

644 551 have never obtained either of the two hereditary names are either because they have died before opportunity arrived or because they were daughters and thus passed over in favour of granddaughters.

644 Another point is that not until the fourth generation in this lineage, in line C, do we find more than two mothers of chiefs of the same generation. In line C the mothers of chiefs are, strictly speaking, four. But since Chandamukulu II C4 and Chandamukulu III C5 are blood sisters and since Chandamukulu II C4 failed to perpetuate her female line through Chilufya D4 the practical effect is to give us now three branches of the clan. The line of the Chandamukulus II C4 and III C5, that of Mukukamfumu C8 and that of Mushimba C 11.

Hence my use in later sections of the terms referring to first, second and third branches of the clan. I think such a use is justified since, as I have said, the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 are blood connections and because the first portion of the line D as far as D5 is almost finished, its status and seniority being taken over by the second portion.

Such a division is perhaps very arbitrary but it simplifies the following interpretation of the tendencies of chiefly succession.

644 613 622 In earlier lineages there were more than the two or three sisters of Paramounts, but as I shall tell in other sections, their sons were not concerned with the succession to the Paramountcy. They were split off to found separate chieftainships of their own. In talking to the councillors about this they use phrases such as— " they were too far away (on a genealogical horizontal line) to be considered." It seems clear that the councillors have in mind some sort of stop on a horizontal line beyond which a *namfumu* would not be considered as bearing sons eligible for the Paramountcy. Where this stop is, of course, depends upon circumstances such as how many sons a senior *namfumu* produces. In the past, earlier lineages, whether from accident or design two *namfumu* have sufficed and so have two until the fourth generation of this lineage. There is supposed to have been a third sister (or cousin) beyond Bwembia A6 on line A who was founder of the Shimumbi house. See Section 3.

Before going on I should insist that where this stop is made, or if one is necessary at the present time, is a matter for the Superior Native Authority, Chitimukulu and his councillors. Whatever points I make from a historical stand-point I gain from discussion with the councillors, and whatever suggestions I make from an administrative point of view are subject to scrutiny by the Superior Native Authority.

My own belief that the stop comes almost instinctively after a second branch of the clan, is founded firstly on the importance of the fact that there are but two hereditary names of *namfumu*. Also on an authoratative, though guarded, remark from some councillors that whether the present succession stopped with Chikwanda D15 or went on to Kafyama D20 depended solely upon the position in the new generation, line E. In other words if there are powerful claimants or perhaps a sufficient number of claimants for the important posts from the senior but lower generation then the most junior of the higher generation to the right will be considered as " too far away." A propos of the present position one councillor said— " in the past there would have been fighting about it. But now the Government must settle this." From what has been told of Bemba history it would appear that he is right about this being a fighting stage.

Dr. Gluckman pointed out to me that what has been taking place in the Bemba chiefly structure is a feature not only of Bemba history but also of many other African systems. This is a tendency to dichotomy and political struggle for the big posts between the various branches of the clan. The junior branches tend to drift and separate from the main branch and then they have to fight to get back to gain the main chieftainships. The struggles are related to the territorial divisions and the fights and intrigues between the powerful heads of such areas have, in practice, the effect of periodically re-uniting the nation. For, after each civil war, the big posts leading to the Paramountcy are again in a single branch of the family. The Paramount himself takes over the Lubemba area and the tribe is united again until a new drift away of junior branches to become territorial powers recommences. This is not the place for anthropological theorising so I refer these characteristics to the genealogical table[1]. We now have three branches of the clan. The second branch, that of the Mukukamfumu has steadily moved farther away from the Chandamukulu line, but it has succeeded in taking one big chieftainship the Nkula, and perhaps a second, the Chikwanda. Hence the tendency, mentioned by Dr. Richards, for certain chieftainships to become stabilised in definite families, is partially true. (*Op. cit.* (1), page 103.) Unless the junior branch fights, as the Mukukamfumu one is doing, it would eventually move still farther away from the senior branch and find itself left with just its present chieftainships and no hope of getting to the Paramountcy. Any third branch of the clan, as the present Mushimba branch, would also find itself drifting still farther into a little separate line of succession. This has happened to third lines in the earlier and present lineage. (See Section 3.)

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In the past this drifting away of a junior branch has often been stopped by wars and fights in which the junior branch brought itself into the Paramountcy line again. The Chimbola incident is one I have described. But these wars cannot occur in the future and the Bemba chiefly system is at a delicate stage. The old councillor who said that this would have been a fighting period was right. The Mukukamfumu branch has been satisfied, more or less, with the Nkula chieftainship since 1924 and the Chandamukulu branch still to-day says it is willing for the Mukukamfumu branch to follow on after it even to the Paramountcy. There is not much hope of this as I show later. The fact that there are two queen mothers with hereditary names is still a guiding line to succession and I am inclined to think that no son of a Chandamukulu or a Mukukamfumu would be considered as being " too far away " to come into the direct line—at the moment. The Chandamukulu succession must keep switching back to the extreme left, but, if the Chandamukulu has many sisters, daughters, and nieces, as in the present lines D and E, the Mukukamfumu must be pushed farther away to the right. And so her sons will be farther away from the Paramountcy. In time even a descendant of a Mukukamfumu would be " too far away."

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That explanation is of future complications and most of us can see the difficulties in allowing the line to go on indefinitely to the right. To deal with present day succession. Is one stop at least to be made after Chikwanda D15, the last son of a Mukukamfumu ?

613 643 644

I will continue to refer to Mushimba C11 as the third sister because, as I have explained, her name has now been made into an hereditary one and I have classed, for convenience and because C4's family is at a dead end, the offspring of the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 as one family. [551]

[1] [see cat 116, pp. 44-50 — Analyst]

613 At the moment, if we continue the line D we find, of the same generation as the reigning chiefs, the sons of the third sister Mushimba C11. She
643 has two sons, Chief Shimumbi IV D18 and Musungu Kafyama D20. If
644 the line is carried right across, these two men are numbers seven and eight from the Paramountcy. In 1942 Kafyama D20 tried to claim the vacant Mpepo on the grounds that the line should be followed right across. But, after discussion with Government, the Superior Native Authority disallowed his claim, not because the Authority had considered the principle but because in any case Mutale Nshika D10 was the right heir for he was the son of the eldest sister. But with the first death of any of the existing chiefs in the Paramountcy line the principle of succession will have to be decided, for there are no more sons of this generation from the elder sisters. This is the problem. Should the third branch and its offspring be considered at all as claimants for chieftainships leading to the Paramountcy? The fact that such people are of the royal totem does entitle them to chieftainships when available, but does it entitle them to those in the main line and can the sons of any royal sister claim this right?

The third branch of the family naturally asserts that it has this right. But it would be hazardous to state that tribal opinion, or the rule of the hereditary councillors, would support it, for an actual issue has never before been placed before them. The Nkula of a second branch, claimed that the descent was changed to a vertical one in its favour by the long run of Paramountcies from the right of the table. This is a belief based on an axiom that is often quoted in tribal arguments, the axiom that history makes the custom. If we examine the historical position of the third branch of the clan we soon see why their claim to follow on the direct line is still a debatable one.

In actual research I have failed to find any instance of the son of a third sister entering the direct line to the Paramountcy. There are instances that will be given later of the sons of the third sisters becoming chiefs, but such occurrences usually resulted in the formation of separate and distinct lines of chiefs. It may be contended that this was only because death cut them off before their chance came, and that these other chieftainships were created so as to give them a chance of power whilst they were waiting to see what happened to the sons of the elder sisters. That may be, but it is an assumption that cannot now be proved. Violent death in wars and quarrels must have cut off as many scions of the first family as of the third in the past, and it is strange that, although there have been third sisters with sons many times in past lineages, it is only now they are enabled to
613 approach the main line.

643 There are two more historical facts that seem to show that the third
644 sister is not on the same footing as the first two. At the moment only the
551 two *samfumu* Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu possess *bakenge* or tribal
[178] relics. These are the sacred objects that all chiefs and other tribal personages have and that are inherited with the name and post. Mushimba C11 had none, perhaps only because she had not inherited a name, but this fact alone would place her on a definitely lower plane than the other two women and indicate that she is not really of the same class. I have already told how Mushimba C11 was not allowed to go to Kabamba for fear she should usurp the post and relics of Mukukamfumu. So long as there were two *samfumu* living there was no question then of creating the third one. I have already pointed out that never before has a third name been inherited, although Goodall's big table and the histories of the minor chieftainships

give many examples of third sisters with sons. This also seems to indicate that the third sister was not considered as an important bearer of a name. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 and she was the first of that name. In 1943 the Paramount said that the name of Mushimba should be perpetuated and he called Sampa E12, classificatory granddaughter of deceased, Mushimba II. It should be understood that all names, are inherited. There is a Nakasafya called after B5 but she is not a *namfumu*. But in the case of Mushimba the name now appears again for a second time as a *namfumu* in a direct line of inheritance. But the councillors, in spite of the Paramount's statement, are still undecided as to whether E12 should still retain the name Sampa or be called Mushimba. So that even the perpetuation of a third name is still not completely settled. 551 613 643 644

These historical facts show that in the past, whatever the real reasons may have been, the third sister and her sons were not concerned with the line to the Paramountcy. If they are to be in the future is presumably a matter for the main tribal council, or that part of it concerned with succession, to decide. There are however a few administrative factors which might influence the council either now or in the future. I think I should give them here in order to complete this full discussion of the position of the third branch of the clan. 613 643 644

To restrict all claims to the Paramountcy and its attendant chieftainships to the sons of the elder two sisters only would, of course, simplify the succession considerably. The succession of Bemba chiefs is complicated and intricate mainly because it involves so many chieftainships, which are necessary in a large tribe, and because the system is spread over so many wide-flung administrative districts. When the present Chitimukulu D1 inherited it took a Government enquiry nine months to verify that he was the right man, and only the descendants of two Chandamukulus and a Mukuka*mfumu* were involved. If the line is allowed to continue to the extreme right and involve any number of *namfumu*, then the number of scions who have to be considered will become greater every generation. For death will not simplify matters so easily as it did in the past. This complication by number does not arise when a line of descent goes down vertically, or perhaps I should say, horizontally only in one branch. So that for administrative convenience it would be better to contain the succession within more definite lines. 613 622 643 644

Secondly, with the line restricted there will not be so much shifting of chiefs on promotion from one district to another. For with more emphasis on a vertical descent it is more probable that the man to inherit is not an existing chief but a young man, nephew to deceased, instead of a cousin of the same generation. 622

Thirdly this would help to stop a long succession of old men—brother following brother and cousin following cousin. There would be a more constant stream of younger men obtaining chieftainships. Moreover, this would give Government a chance to educate men who have a reasonable prospect of becoming chiefs. At the moment there are too many men of the same generation to be considered. We have had a series of old, conservative chiefs. It is true that the new people following at the moment are younger but, and this really important, they are all practically of the same age since they are of the same generation. So that in ten years' time we shall again see many important Bemba chieftainships held by old men.

622 If this horizontal reading of the table is extended beyond one or two branches of the clan there is not so much hope of getting a constant leavening of younger men. Most of the chiefs in the direct line to the Paramountcy will be much of the same age.

Lastly, the Superior Authority is being encouraged to cut down the number of redundant chieftainships. This will emphasise still more not only the intricacy of the descent but will make it still more obvious that only old men will become chiefs. If the horizontal line of succession is carried across as far as it will go and there are a reduced number of chieftainships this not only means that the claimants may have to be traced through a series of dead men but also that the general age of men succeeding will be still higher. For there will be so many cousins without chieftainships who must get them before the younger sons of *namfumu*.

613 That concludes the discussion on the place and status of the present third branch of the clan. The historical and administrative arguments
643 seem to be on the side of its members being ignored as regards the Paramountcy and in favour of them being restricted to their own separate little chieftainship of Shimumbi. What attitude the Council will take I do not know. The influence of Kafyama D20, the man who has a lot to gain, is considerable as he is a very assertive character. He will deal very roughly with any suggestion that history does not support his claims. However, whatever may happen in the immediate future this examination of the place of the third branch may be useful if ever a Council does consider simplification of the system.

500 Suppose this third branch was cut out. How would the descent go? Referring again to the table it means that Chikwanda D15 is the last man of his generation to be considered: that Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20 remain a separate entity and receive no promotion from their own chieftainship of Shimumbi. Thus when either Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3 dies the Mpepo would become vacant. The descent would then drop a line to Chakwangashi E3, the son of Chandamukulu Chabili D7. (Chikwanda would not want the Mpepo as it is a less post than his.) The descent would go downwards instead of so far across. Kasonde D8, the next sister, only has daughters so the next vacancy might go to Mubanga E8, the son of Mubanga D9. If any of the sisters only have daughters or no issue then the offspring of a third sister would have to be considered, although the sons of the daughters themselves would not lose seniority. In the case of Chandamukulu II C4 and III C5 we have an instance of the line of a more senior sister dying out as regards succession and the next sister taking the place of the more senior one.

Thus the descent would be simplified and restricted. A glance at the line E, below that of the present chiefs shows how the number of female descendants is increasing. The time may come when not two or three sisters, but perhaps four or five, have to be considered and the line to the Paramountcy become still more complicated.

(c) The Present and Future Succession.

643 I must remind readers of the rules enunciated in subsection (a).[1] That the table is read as a book, horizontally from left to right, and that all the
644 sons of one generation must be passed before there is a switch back to the left and down to a lower generation.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 4-8 - Analysis]

These rules can be plainly seen at the moment. The living sons of a senior Chandamukulu, Kangwa Chonya, C4 are Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 and Mwamba V D3. Their half-brothers are the living sons of the next sister who also became Chandamukulu C5, and are Nkolemfumu Musenga D6 and Mpepo Mutale D10. There were no other real sisters of that generation but a cousin of the same generation who became Mukukamfumu C8 has two living sons, of the same generation and cousins to the above mentioned four leading chiefs, and they are Nkula Musungu D14 and Chikwanda Bwembia D15. Thus the direct line of the Paramountcy is strictly as follows at the moment: 643 644

Chitimukulu D1, Mwamba D3, Nkolemfumu D5, Mpepo D10, Nkula D14, Chikwanda D15. Then if the third branch is also included, the next two are Shimumbi D18 and Musungu Kafyama D20. That is how the line goes to-day but it does not always follow that the succession is in the order of the names quoted here. Mwamba will perhaps normally succeed in the future, as this post is now the second in importance and as a man reaches the Paramountcy his next successor will follow to the next most important post, and the successor will normally be a brother or cousin. But it happened in the past that Nkulas were from a more senior *samfumu* than the Mwambas, in which case the Nkulas succeeded. But this does not apply at the moment. The point is that the names of the immediate succession will not always be in the order that now follows Mwamba.

The present Chandamukulu Chabili D7, is sister of Nkolemfumu D6 and thus she is of a younger generation than the mothers of Nkolemfumu D6 and Nkula D14. Her son is not yet a chief nor is the son of her sister Mubanga D9. These sons may follow either Mpepo D10 or Chikwanda D15 or Kafyama D20 according to deaths and according to whether the third branch is included in the main line. For reasons explained below, the main one being that because Musungu Nkula D14 and Bwembia Chikwanda D15 are so much older in years than Mpepo D10 that they have no hope of the Paramountcy I do not think Musungu Nkula D14 will move from his present post at all, and Bwembia Chikwanda D15 would lose in salary by becoming Nkolemfumu. So that, if only the two branches of the clan are considered, Chakwangashya E3 the eldest son of the present Chandamukulu D7 may follow Mutale D10, as Mpepo and Mubanga's D9 son Mubanga E9 after him. If the third branch is included Kafyama D20 will get a chieftainship before them and Shimumbi D18 may want the Nkolemfumu as the salary is higher.

At the moment the two chiefs Musungu Nkula D14 and Bwembia Chikwanda D15 of the existing Mukukamfumu branch of the clan are older in years than Mpepo D10 of the Chandamukulu branch, and therefore it is unlikely that either Nkula D14 or Chikwanda D15 will live long enough to get nearer to the Paramountcy, although Chikwanda D15 may become Nkula when his brother dies. The Chikwanda post gets a higher salary than Mpepo's or Nkolemfumu's, so if within the next few years Musenga Nkolemfumu D6 becomes Paramount and Mutale Mpepo D10 becomes Mwamba then the direct horizontal list of names—Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo—would in all probability be broken. Neither Nkula D14 nor Chikwanda D15, though the next in succession, would take the lower paid post of Nkolemfumu in which case they would stay where they are. Chakwangashya E3 would then be the next to be Nkolemfumu unless the third branch is brought in and Shimumbi D18 or Kafyama D20 takes the post. But the series of names would then run (if D1 and D3 are dead) Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula, Chikwanda, followed

643 644 by Chakwangashya E3 as Nkolemfumu, Mubanga E9 as Mpepo (or else Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20). This shows that Dr. Richards statement (*op. cit.* (1), page 103) that the present series of chieftainships is tending to become fixed in the main branch is somewhat misleading. The series can only be fixed if we cease to read the table horizontally and stop at a first or second branch. For example, if the third branch wins its claim to be considered, Kafyama D20 would take the Mpepo on the death of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 because D3, D6 and D10 would move up and the Mpepo is too small a post for Nkula D14 or Chikwanda D15 or Shimumbi D18. Moreover, in the line D, Chandamukulu Chabili D7 has only one living son Chakwangashya E3 and neither she nor her sister Kasonde D8 are likely to have more offspring. Mubanga D9 has one son and may have more. So it seems in the future that the series of chieftainships mentioned will not stay in the one branch of the clan. (Another possibility that would break the series of names is that if Chikwanda were to die then Nkolemfumu might claim that post because the salary is higher.)

At the moment, on the genealogical table, Mpepo D10 appears as fourth in the line of succession and Nkula D14 the fifth, but the death of any of the first four would bring Musungu Nkula D14 up to number four, whether he kept his present post or not. It is not the actual name that counts but the place in the genealogical table. The present Nkula D14 would not move from his existing post, I imagine, until at least three of the four men ahead of him had died and thus left vacant the Mwamba. He could watch junior men, for example, Kafyama D20 or Chabili's son, E3, taking the Mpepo and the Nkolemfumu and he could still claim his right to the Mwamba or the Chitimukulu before them. There is a very present chance that Chikwanda D15 could become Nkolemfumu if he wished, because both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 will probably die soon. But if Chikwanda D15 does become Nkolemfumu, which I doubt since the salary at the moment is less, he could not go on and become Mwamba before his elder brother Nkula D14, unless the latter agreed.

554 622 643 At this point I should emphasise that both as regards prestige and salary there is a distinct break after the three main chieftainships of Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula. At the moment, as I have repeated, a chief called Nkolemfumu happens to be third in succession. But the post is not important by salary or status (see later) and once the present series is broken by the deaths of the two leading chiefs this post of Nkolemfumu will be taken by a man much farther away than third in succession to the Paramountcy. Of the chiefs of royal blood the Chikwanda is now the most important modern post after the first three for he gets the next biggest salary after Nkula on account of the size of his area and population. Hence my statements that Chikwanda D15 will no doubt wait and follow his brother Nkula D14, rather than take a post such as the Nkolemfumu which would give him a lower salary but not jump him nearer to the Paramountcy. That position a man cannot lose whatever chieftainship he takes.

551 622 643 I enlarge on this particular chieftainship of Nkolemfumu in order to show that the mere possession of its name does not bring the holder nearer to the Paramountcy. There are other royal chieftainships paid higher or equal salaries, and since it is only the place in the genealogical table that counts, a holder of one of these can hang on to it until a post such as Nkula or Mwamba becomes vacant. I must emphasise that genealogical seniority entitles a man in theory to claim any of the three leading chieftainships,

Section 4.—THE LINE OF THE ELDEST SON OF THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF MAKASA.

I have headed this section as above because it is the simplest way of indicating that the holder of the Makasa is thus so regarded, although he may not be the actual son of any chief who has been Paramount. He is the most senior son of all the chiefs of the royal clan. The holder of this post has an important part to play in the inheritance ceremonies of a Paramount. He goes over to the capital as soon as the body of the chief starts its journey to the burial grave at Mwalule and he stays in command of the capital until the new Paramount is appointed. He has to make the culminating remark acknowledging that the proposed Chitimukulu is his "father" and therefore the right man to succeed. It is said that his power at the appointment is greater than that of the *Bakabilo* (hereditary councillors). That is why he is known as the eldest son, and there have been attempts in the past by prospective claimants to the Paramountcy to get in a family member as Makasa ahead of succession, so that the claimant's way may be smoothed. 622 643 644

All the sons of chiefs who hold appointment naturally trace their descent through their fathers. The line to the Paramountcy and other royal chieftainships is through royal women. With the sons it is the other way about—they are from a royal father. The sons are not then of royal blood—*beneng'andu*. 622 644

In the Makasa succession, as in the main lines, the genealogical table is read across from left to right and the most senior son of the most senior father is taken as Makasa.

It has happened that only sons of Chitimukulu's, Mwamba's and Nkulas' have ever held the post, but even such a narrow limit has given scope for intrigue. The last Makasa of the old lineage was a son of a Chitimukulu. In the present lineage the first was a son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2. Then came a son of Chitimukulu Bwembya A6. Then in succession came two sons of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 who jumped his sons over the heads of several senior claimants. But when he died, after his career of upsetting most traditions of succession, the Makasa succession went back to a more senior line again and another son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2 got the post. Following him came Musanya the son of Nkula Shichansa C3 and then Ndakala the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. This last Makasa, the seventh of the present lineage died in 1939. 613 622 644

The rule of succession sounds simple, but actually power politics and personal choice have great sway in the appointment of the sons of chiefs. For example, the most senior son living to-day is Tungati the son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3. He is also senior to the Makasa who died in 1939. This latter man was Ndakala the son of Nkula Shichansa C3, and he got the post ahead of Tungati. The reasons appear to be that he was already Mubanga which was usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa and that Tungati who was then Luali hoped for the wealthier post of Mporokoso.

613 When Makasa Ndakala died in 1939 Tungati was still alive but too old
622 now to worry about moving to claim his rightful post. The next senior son
644 was Luchembe the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 but he was not nominated because he was half mad. The next sons were Lukaka and Muchereka also sons of Chipoya C2. They also were old and refused to move from their places in Mpika and Luwingu. So the next choice was the last son of Chipoya C2 who was then Chief Misengo.

But whilst all this discussion had been going on in 1939, Nkula D14 had been pressing the claims of Mubanga, who was nephew to the deceased Makasa and was also of the house of Nkula. Mubanga actually went to Makasa and inherited, or rather tried to. But when he attempted to " take
[789] the death off " the senior wife of the deceased, her body by magical means was turned round so that her feet appeared on the pillow instead of her head. This went on for some time and Mubanga was finally persuaded that the spirits disapproved his claim to be Makasa so he went back to his Mubanga post. The rightful heir, Misengo, took over and this time the spirits concurred.

This was an attempt of the Nkula branch of the clan to pack the gallery in its own favour. The members obviously thought that if the Makasa was a son of their branch he would influence the next choice of the Paramount in Nkula D14's favour. At the inheritance ceremonies he might use his power and point to Nkula D14 as " his father " and therefore Paramount. Another fact that encouraged their belief that Mubanga should succeed Makasa was that the Mubanga (or Lombe) is usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa. It was in the past sometimes, and actually it should be for the next appointment. But after that the grading of salaries will probably make the Mubanga no longer a post worth arguing about.

622 The present Makasa, as we have said, is the youngest son of Chipoya C2.
644 The next senior son is the present Mubanga Lombe who tried to usurp the post one promotion ahead of his time in 1939. After him comes Mukwikile the last son of Chitimukulu Ponde C10. (Ignoring the four old men already quoted.) After Mukwikile the descent drops to the sons of the reigning Chitimukulu D1. The eldest available son of Chitimukulu D1 (the eldest in age is a simpleton) is Chief Mporokoso and he will not leave that post for Mubanga, and it may be doubted whether he would become Makasa, although that post does carry more honour. But the Makasa does not carry such a big salary as Mporokoso.

Next come Chisangaponde, Chipalo and Menga, and they, if tradition had been followed, should have been offered the Mubanga in 1939 in turn if Mukwikile did not take it. But when Mubanga made his ill-fated attempt to inherit Makasa, the vacant post of Mubanga was not even offered to Mukwikile as if should have been. What happened was that Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 had an argument. Quite a frequent occurrence. Chitimukulu D1 had earlier broken an old tradition by sending one of his sons to be Mporokoso instead of allowing Mwamba D3 to send of of his (see later). So Mwamba D3 now claimed the right to send one of his sons to Chitimukulu's side of the country. Chitimukulu D1 agreed and allowed Mwamba D3 to appoint a Mubanga. Mwamba D3 sent his eldest son who was at the time holding a minor post as Lwali in Mporokoso. (On the recommendation of the Superior Native Authority this petty post of Lwali was then abolished.) When the spirits decided that Ponde C10's son was the wrong man this young Lwali Mwamba left his newly acquired post of Mubanga and became

Misengo, a post vacated by that chief becoming Makasa. Chief Mukwikile should have been offered the Mubanga, and that he was not is due to the reasons mentioned above, and is also perhaps an example of another tendency we must note—that reigning chiefs always push their own sons at the expense of the sons of deceased chiefs. This is not a bad proceeding sometimes from the point of view of Government as it tends to foster the appointment of younger men. 622 644

Enough has been said to indicate how the Makasa is inherited and that in future whether the descent follows tradition depends upon whether the post carries a bigger salary than the heir is getting. It has much honour attached to it which may weight the scale on borderline cases.

The descent at the time of writing is as follows: Makasa when he dies should be followed by Mubanga although Mubanga is older in years than Makasa and he may die first. Then should come Mukwikile. Then follow the sons of Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. They at the time of writing hold the following posts: Mporokoso, Chisangaponde, Chipalo, Mengo. If none of these want the post then the line goes to the sons of the reigning Mwamba D3—Munkonge and Misengo. So goes the succession by tradition, but should Chitimukulu and Council wish to push younger men at the expense of sons of deceased chiefs such acts have historical justification.

An important point to remember about tracing the correct succession through the sons is that the senior son following Makasa does not always bear the same name. For instance, the two senior men now are Tungati and Muchereka but when they die it is most probable that they will be replaced by young sons of reigning chiefs and the chieftainships of Muchereka and Tungati may thus change from being senior to being very junior.

The table of the sons at the end shows their succession and the seniority.

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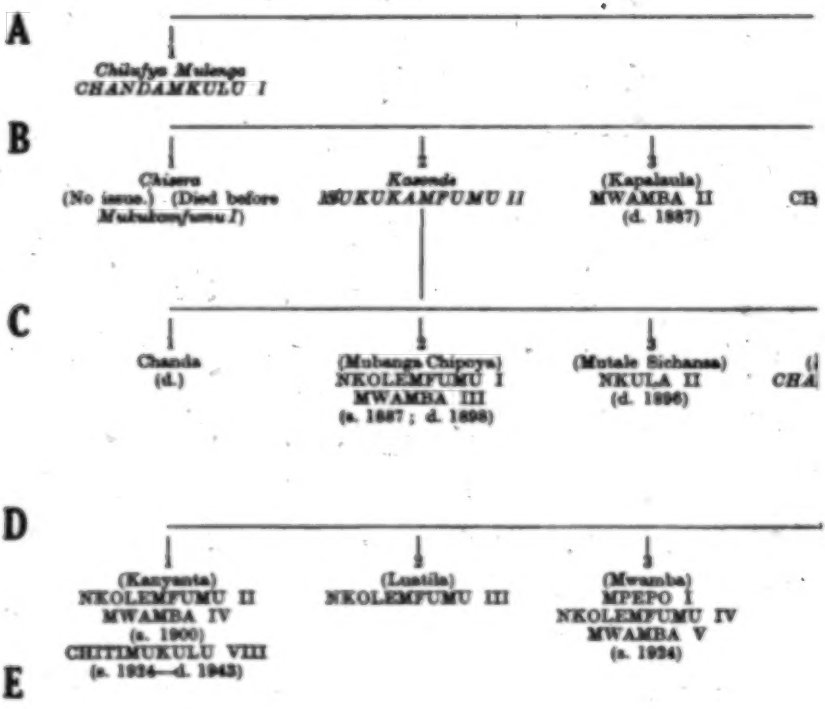

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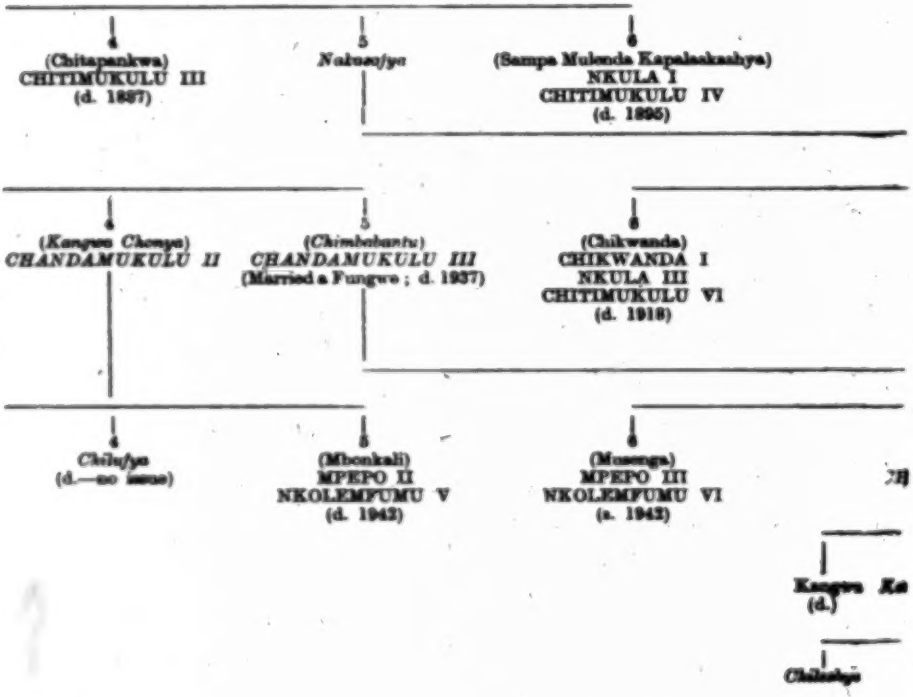

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6: Brelsford G-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FQ5 Bemba FQ5
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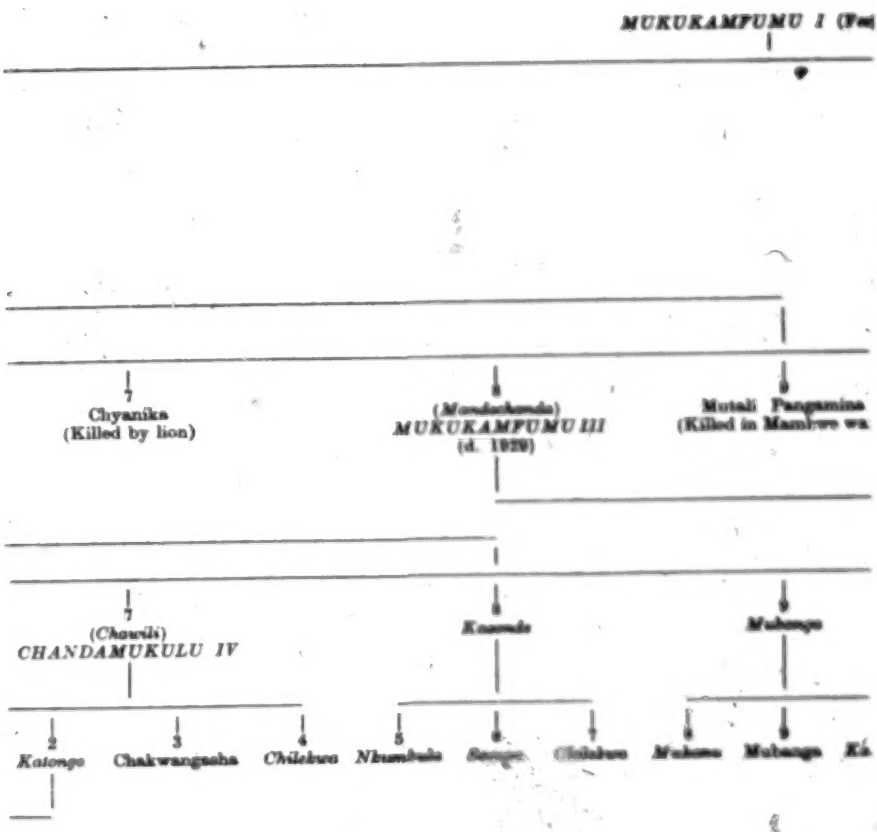
THE BEMBA

the Bemba Royal House showing the issue th



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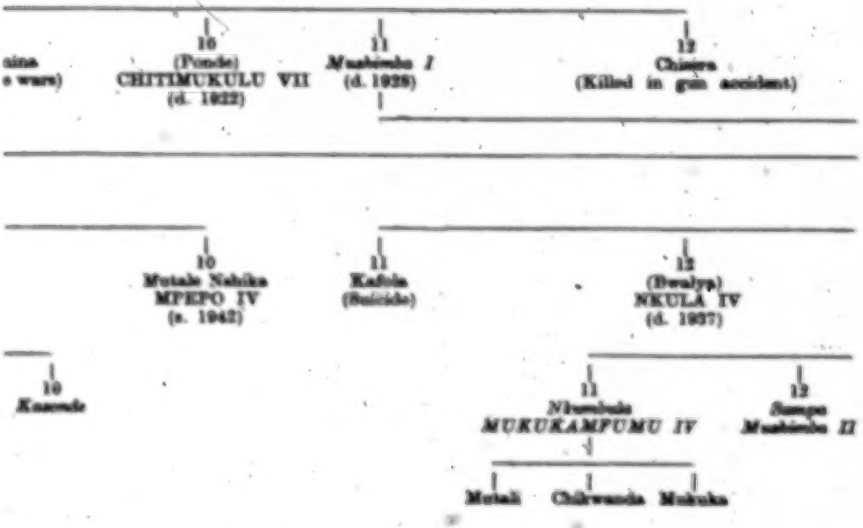
BA CHIEFTAINSHIPS OF THE PARAMO

through the female line (in Italic.) Chi

(Female.)



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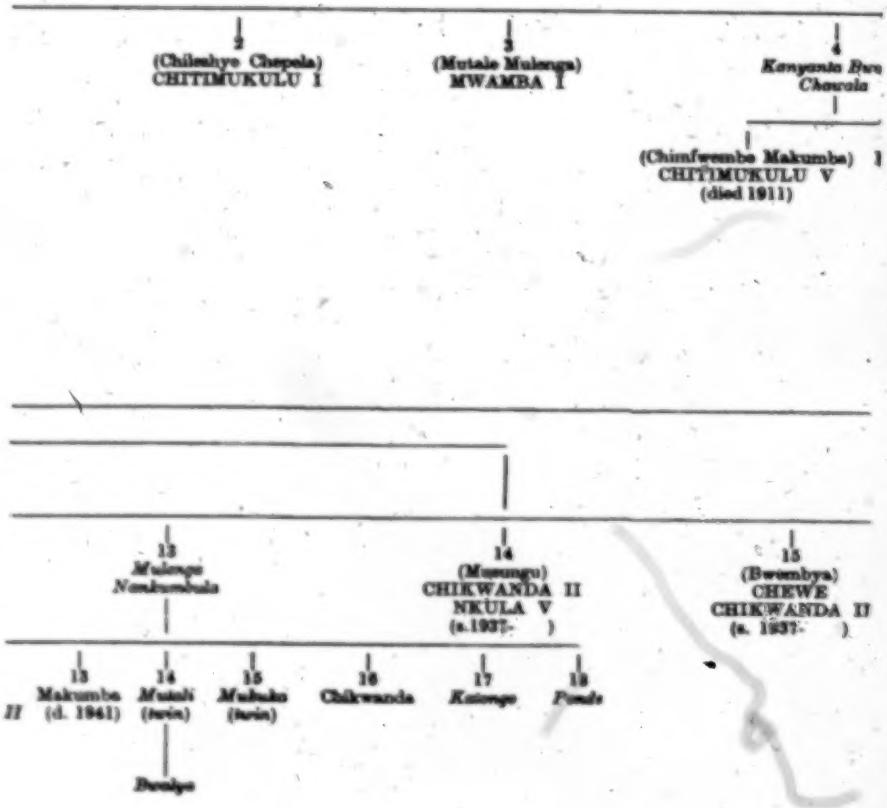

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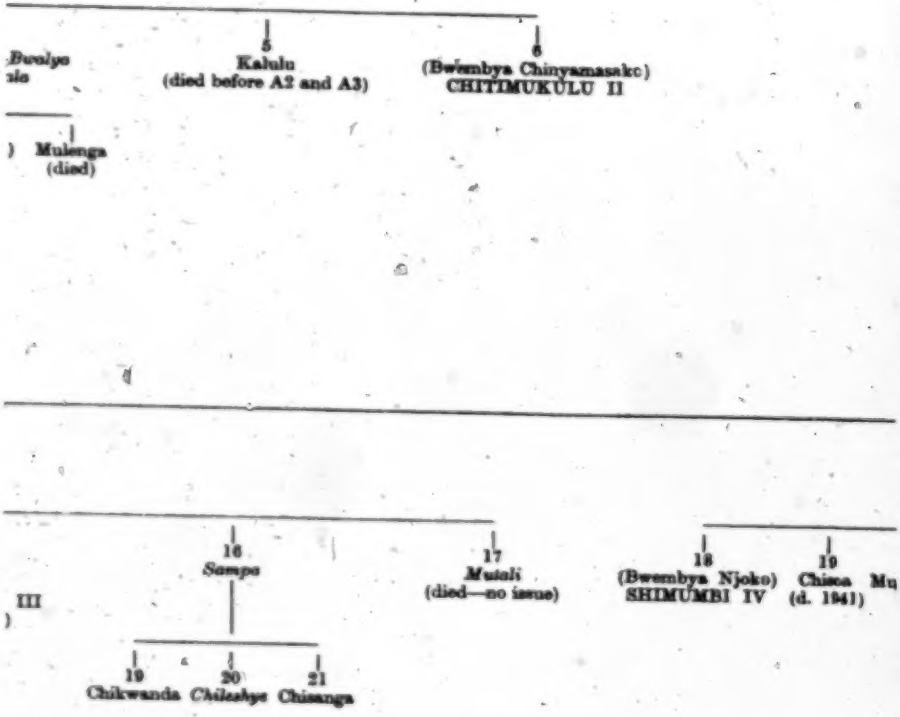
own. See next table.



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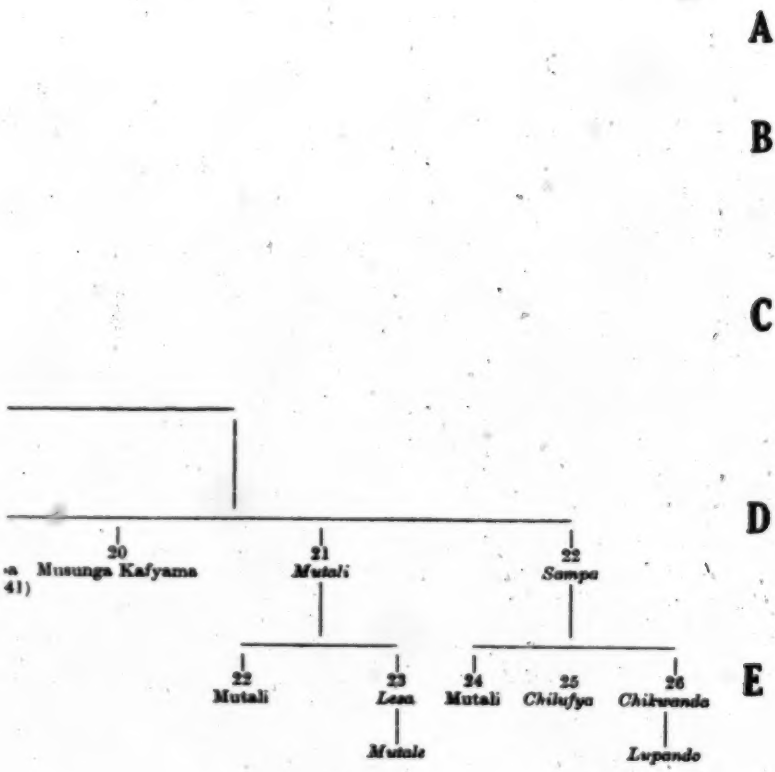

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Let

B

3
MWAMBA II
Kapalaula
|
TUNGATI III

C

2
MWAMBA III
Mubanga Chipoya

LUCHEMBE I MUCHELEKA II MAKASA
(Formerly MISENGO I)
(Also several other living sons who did not get posts and one who died as Masongo.)

6
CHITIMUKU
Chikwand
|
LUKAK
(Also two sons
posts aliv

D

1.
CHITIMUKULU VIII
Kanyanta

MPOROKOSO
(Formerly KASONKA
then CHISANGAPONDE II)
CHISANGAPONDE III MENGA III CHIPALO
(Formerly KAS
(Also about ten other sons without chieftainships.)

[p51]

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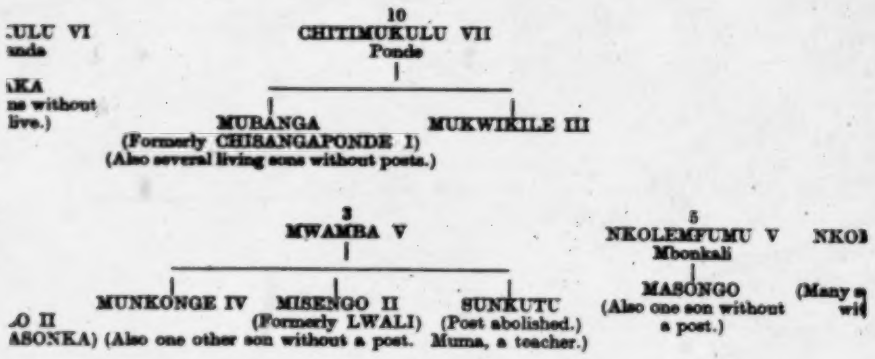
TABLE OF SONS OF CHIEFS.

Showing only Sons with posts in 1943.

etters and numbers correspond with those of the main table.



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e.

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D

6	10	12	14
NKOLEMFUMU VI Musenga	MPEPO III Mutali	NKULA IV Bwalya	NKULA V Musunga
(many sons alive. None with posts yet.)	(Only two sons to date.)	(Has sons alive but none with posts.)	(One son Regent to LUKAKA. Others with no post.)

[p.53]

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

to claims on the people's services. The potential heirs of a chief within his own branch of the family—that is to say, his brothers, maternal nephews, or maternal grandsons—are treated with particular deference. The former two categories are described as chiefs and addressed by the title *mfumu*, while the latter, only slightly lower in status, are referred to by a special name *beshikulu ba mfumu* ('grandchildren of the chiefs') and have their own ritual and social prerogatives.

Women of the royal line, the mothers, sisters, maternal nieces, and granddaughters of the chiefs are called *banamfumu* and are treated with much the same deference as are the men of the family. The mother of the paramount is highly honoured, succeeds to a fixed title—the *Candamukulu*—takes part in tribal councils, and has several villages of her own. The sisters of chiefs are privileged persons, protected and supported by their royal brothers, and usually granted one or more villages to rule. They are above the law in matters of sex morality, and a princess is allowed to have as many lovers as she pleases, provided she produces many children as potential heirs to the throne.

Not only members of the royal clan, but also persons who merely belong to the *ulupwa* of the chief, can claim high rank, i.e. his relatives on his paternal side, and his own sons. Some fathers of chiefs were nobodies and were quickly forgotten, but some have been famous men, honoured by their sons when the latter succeeded to the throne. The children of chiefs, though not members of his clan, and therefore not heirs, are also entitled to special privileges, and the *bana bamfumu* ('children of the chief') form a class of their own. They are brought up at the court, where they are treated in many ways more favourably than the heirs themselves and are able to claim headmanships and even chieftainships.[1] Even the half-brothers of chiefs, through other fathers (*bakaulu*), have rights to special treatment at court.

Added to this, already numerous class of royal personages are the descendants of close relatives of dead chiefs. Roughly speaking, any person who can claim to be maternal nephew, grandson, or son of a chief is succeeded by a man who continues to hold the same rank by the *ukupyanika* system described on p. 98. He is then addressed as 'chief' or 'son of chief'. The descendants of

[1] A few chieftainships are definitely handed on to 'sons of chiefs' instead of to 'chiefs', e.g. the Makassaship, the Lucembeship, or the Munkongeship.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

food, and to protect his person and that of the sacred relics from the contagion of illness, death, or sex defilement.[1]

The ritual by which a successor to the chieftainship is converted from an ordinary individual to a ruler with almost divine powers, has a good deal of political importance. It confers authority on the priests—in this case hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) who carry it out—and gives them, as we shall see, considerable power to check the chief himself. The complete ritual by which the *umupashi* of a dead ruler is liberated to guard the land he governed, and the new heir is installed, is too complex to describe here and now. Briefly speaking, it consists of the desiccation of the body during a period of a year, from one kafir-corn harvest to the next; its burial in a special grove (with human sacrifices in the old days); and the building of a shrine on the site of the deserted capital. To make the new chief, *bakabilo* must preside at the installation of a new great wife, arrange for the sexual purification of the royal pair, and the lighting of their new sacred fire.[2] They must hand over to the heir the heirlooms (*babenye*) of which they have been in charge during the interregnum, and must finally found a new village and build again the sacred huts in which the relics are to be kept. Such a ceremonial may take eighteen months to two years and the participation of all the *bakabilo* and hereditary buriers (*bafingo*) in the case of the paramount; a lesser time and very many fewer priestly dignitaries in the case of the territorial chiefs. The secrecy and awe surrounding these ceremonies is, I believe, one of the ways by which the people's reverence for their chiefs is maintained.

(*b*) *Legal Rules of Descent and Succession.* Against this background of beliefs as to the continuity between one generation and another, the nature of descent and succession is defined exactly by legal rule. Descent in the royal family is reckoned to the time of first occupation of the country, and twenty-five to thirty Citimukulus are remembered. In the case of a territorial chief, the line of ancestors is not so long, and most are described as having been 'born in the country'. Most of the names honoured are those of men but some are those of women, and it seems that

[1] cf. my *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939), chap. xvii.

[2] Hence the importance of the great wife of the chief (*umukolo wa calo*) in the political life of the tribe and the belief that her behaviour also influences the welfare of the land.